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Mirebalais

APPENDIX V

REFERENCES

113

NOTE: This list of works in no way claims completeness, since there are hundreds of titles on Haiti whose inclusion here would serve no good purpose. Only such articles and books are mentioned to which reference has actually been made in the text. It has also not seemed advisable to include works of fiction and fictionized history bearing on Haiti, such as J. B. Cineas's *La Drame de la Terre*, or Justin Lherisson's *La Famille de Pitite Caille*, or Guy Endore's *Babouk*, or John Vandercook's *Black Majesty*. Since this book presents statements of fact concerning Haitian life, these products of the creative imagination, excellent though they are, could not in the nature of the case be employed to document the exposition.

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were stacked against the wall, and set about in various places were several assons, iron crosses, Catholic lithographs, chains and iron bars for the loa Ogoun, candles set in bottles, and an old forged double bell of African design.

Some of the hounfors found elsewhere are more elaborate and reflect the richer resources of the immediate community, or the creative impulses of the houngan and his helpers, or the pressure of competition. Some cult temples are prolific with painted designs and symbolic representations of the deities. Others are unpretentious, simple, and even Spartan.

In his book *En Haiti*, written approximately fifty years ago, Eugene Aubin describes a hounfor in the Cul-de-Sac Plain, a few miles from Port-au-Prince, as he saw it in 1906:

> [The] *hounfor* is fronted by a *peristyle*, which is used for the Voloun dances and services; it is a large area, with a floor of beaten earth, covered with a straw roof. On three sides the walls rise to support the roof; on the fourth there is the inscription:
>
> *Société la Fleur de Guinée*
> *Roi d'Engole*
> *[Flower of Africa Society*
> *King of Angola]*
>
> indicating the name of the patron of the society [the loa Roi Angole, or Wangol], over which the *houngan* presides. The *hounfor* is an ordinary house, a little larger than average. The sanctuary contains a principal *pé* [altar], running the whole length of the room on one side, and another altar, a little smaller, in one of the corners. These *pés* are altars largely made of brick, in which the under part is decorated with hearts and stars in relief; above, draperies hang from the ceiling. The lateral *pé* is divided into three compartments. There are, therefore, four sections in all, consecrated to each of the *loa* served in the *hounfor:* Aguay Aoyo [Agwé Woyo], Damballa, Ogoun Badagry, and Loco [Loko], Nago King. Maître Aguay is represented by the customary little boat; a medallion is consecrated to Monsieur Damballa, shown holding two snakes in his hand; a figure on horseback represents Ogoun Badagry, with a woman at one side holding a flag; Papa Loco is pictured in full uniform, smoking a pipe and fanning himself. The walls are covered with religious paintings [Catholic lithographs]. The back of the altar is occupied by numerous carafes in baked clay, called *canaris*, which contain the . . . *mystères* [spirits taken from the heads of the dead] gathered in the *hounfor;* in front are bottles of wine, liqueurs and vermouth presented to them in homage; then the plates, the cups for the *mangers-marassas* [feasts for the twin spirit], crucifixes, hand bells, *assons* for directing the dance or calling the *loa;* plates filled with polished stones [celts] inherited from the Indians—"thunder stones," symbols of Damballa, which Saugo [Sobo] the god of lightning hurls from the sky into the enclosure of his favorite *papaloi* [*houngan*]. Beside these miraculous stones are many coins of copper or silver [property of the *loa*]. The *loa* . . . possess coins of Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain, minted in 1811; of Frederick VII of Denmark, 1859; of Charles IV of Spain, 1783, and of President Boyer, dated year 27 and year 30 of Haitian Independence. On the ground there is placed a coconut-oil lamp; in the corner, the flags of the *hounfor* and the saber of [the] *lapiace*, the man who acts as master of ceremonies in the services.

2: Courlander B-8 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3

[P. 349]

Notes

Chapter 1: *The Making of the Haitian* (pp. 1-7)

[1]The name Ganda survives in Haiti as the name of a deity.

[2]Herskovits, in *The Myth of the Negro Past* (p. 47), provides a tabulation of raw data found in the manifests recorded for slaves shipped to Virginia between 1710 and 1769: 20,564 slaves were reported shipped from "Africa," 3,652 from Gambia, 6,777 from "Guinea," 9,224 from Calabar, 3,860 from Angola, and 1,011 from Madagascar. Of those shipped from the island of Madagascar, 473 were listed as coming from Mozambique.

[3]Bartolomé de Las Casas.

Chapter 2: *Man and the Universe: Vodoun* (pp. 8-18)

[1]See Courlander, *Haiti Singing*, p. 7.

[2]Schweinfurth in *The Heart of Africa*, II, 31, says: "In Loango all exorcists and conjurors are called *ganga*." Leo Wiener, in *Africa and the Discovery of America* (Philadelphia: Innes and Sons, 1922), III, 32, reports: "Forms of *ganga* have in Bantu the meaning 'medicine' but also 'magic'—such as Nyika *ganga* and Kongo *nganga*."

[3]Gorer, *Africa Dances*, p. 120; Herskovits, *Dahomey*, II, 208 ff.

[4]From the Fon *houn-so* or *houn-su*. Among the Arada of Dahomey a *houn-su* was regarded as a spiritual wife of the deity. She was a servant of the cult temple, and in some instances a wife of the cult priest.

[5]Translated from the French of Aubin, *En Haiti*, pp. 57-59.

[6]Deren, in her *Divine Horsemen* (pp. 119 ff.), gives an excellent report of a service for Agwé in a boat at sea. Aubin (*op. cit.*, p. 108) seems to have given the first description of this service at sea for the lwa Agwé.

[7]Leyburn, *The Haitian People*, p. 119.

[8]*Ibid.*, p. 123. Leyburn advances the theory that Vodoun developed during this period as a result of the vacuum left by the Church. Although the Church did in effect leave the field to the African cults, one must assume that the Arada, Congo, and other cults were already organized and possessed of great vitality before the Haitian revolution. Implicit evidence points to a continuity of cult life from the earliest days of the African on Haitian soil. There are no statistics to reveal the extent of cult membership at the end of the eighteenth century, but the content and form of Vodoun today are so overwhelmingly African that it is difficult to think of Haitian cult activity as the product of a renaissance.

Chapter 3: *The Lwa: Gods of the Haitian Mountains* (pp. 19-29)

[1]The term *vodoun*, used in this precise sense, conforms to the original Fon (Dahomean) usage. The term *hounsi*, also of Fon origin, signifies "spirit" and belongs to the same root

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as *hounfor, hounsi, houngénicon, hountor*, etc. *Mystère* is of obvious French origin. *Loa* is probably from the Bantu, but it could be from the Yoruba.

[2]Various methods and formulas are employed in "tying" a loa. Sometimes making the sign of the cross is regarded as adequate, or the saying of a prayer. In "The Vodun Service in Northern Haiti" (*American Anthropologist*, XLII, 242–243), George Eaton Simpson reports that the "tying" of a loa sometimes results in a contest between the individual concerned and his houngan. If the houngan wants the *maît' tête* to come in, he must neutralize the ritual barriers the "horse" has put in the way. "One procedure for bringing on possession in a servant who has tried to 'tie' his chief god is for the priest to stand in front of the person whom he suspects, make the sign of the cross, and strike him on the forehead three times with a sacrificial stone. Usually these blows are hard enough to make blood spurt. The servant then begs the pardon of the angry god, and as soon as possible he unties the knots in his handkerchief [the method he has used for 'tying' his loa]."

[3]Herskovits, *Dahomey*.

Chapter 4: *Death Rites* (*pp. 30–40*)

[1]Maurice Delafosse, *L'Ame nègre*. Translation from *Free France*, special issue No. 4, French Press and Information Service, New York, June, 1945.

[2]Leo A. Verwilghen, in booklet describing peoples of the Kwango region, accompanying *Music of the Western Congo*, recordings issued by the Ethnic Folkways Library.

[3]Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu*, pp. 88–89.

[4]W. M. Eiselen and I. Schapera, "Religious Beliefs and Practices," in Schapera, *The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa*, p. 250.

[5]Translated from the French of Aubin, *En Haiti*, p. 212.

[6]Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley*, pp. 213–214.

[7]Hall and others, *Haitian Creole*, American Anthropological Association, Memoir No. 54, pp. 188–189.

[8]Simpson, "Four Vodun Ceremonies," *Journal of American Folklore*, April–June, 1946, pp. 155–162.

[9]As translated by Courlander from Simpson's Creole text, *ibid.*, p. 156. The preceding paragraph is from p. 155.

[10]Translated by Courlander from the Creole of Simpson's text.

[11]This and the preceding paragraph are from Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[12]These shells, as indicated elsewhere, are part of the paraphernalia of the Vodoun priest and appear to be an inheritance from the priests of the Fa cult of Dahomey. The divining shells are usually thrown on the ground in fours, and the readings depend upon combinations of "heads and tails." The manner of throwing the shells, as well as the number used, corresponds closely with the Haitian secular gambling game *mayamba* (see Appendix 2), though the purpose is obviously different. In some priestly rites in Haiti, ashes rather than the customary shells are used for divining.

[13]Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[14]*Ibid.*, p. 161.

[15]Herskovits, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[16]Herskovits (*ibid.*) notes that persons who die of smallpox, lightning, and certain other phenomena are not buried in coffins. Some of my informants indicated this to be their understanding also, but they said that the dead are buried without coffins for strictly economic reasons as well.

[17]Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[18]Leyburn, *The Haitian People*, p. 156.

[19]Herskovits, *Dahomey*, I, 398.

[20]*Ibid.*, pp. 397–398.

[21]Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley*, p. 214.

[22]Hall and others, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

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[P. 363]
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● 113 ### *A Selective Listing of Haitian Music on Records*

Voices of Haiti (LP), recorded in Haiti by Maya Deren. Electra. Five examples of ritual songs and dances recorded near Pétionville and Croix des Missions. On the whole, superior material. The first two pieces on the record, which are documentary, are particularly outstanding.

Haiti Dances (78 r.p.m.). Wax. Some of the information provided on the album cover is inaccurate, but the records are worth listening to. Not "documentary," but performed by a good modern folk-dance group.

Drums of Haiti (LP), recorded in Haiti by Harold Courlander. Ethnic Folkways Library. Thirteen examples of drums and other percussion instruments, demonstrating the rhythms of eleven different dances. Contains some of the selections transcribed in this volume.

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3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

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113
114

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tiny communities, some of them designating "villages" of only four or five houses. For numbers of peasants hidden away in the valleys or on mountain farms, the only contact with the larger world comes through visits to the nearest market town—which itself may count only a thousand souls. The peasant is thus effectively isolated. The American Financial Adviser to the Government has estimated the average *annual* income of the Haitian at $20 a head.[8] The smallness of the sum limits the material contacts of the peasant with the outside world. Rural schools are few,[9] consequently all but a small percentage of the rising generation is growing up illiterate. Lack of mental stimulus completes the isolation. Bound to the soil by the need of wresting a livelihood from rocky, gullied, and increasingly unproductive land, harassed by ill-health, and governed by a group whose own security would be threatened by improving his lot, it is little wonder that the peasant is unprogressive, or that he struggles along at a bare subsistence level.[10]

Haiti is rural and agricultural, then, with a population density of about 250 per square mile. The people, living without machine industry and with very little foreign trade, must get their living from 10,000 square miles, not of lush tropical soil but of rocky, mountainous country which, after a century and a half of poor farming, has been stripped of most of its forests and much of its topsoil.

A glance at a relief map of the West Indies would show clearly that the islands are the tops of a mountain range, whose lowlands were long since submerged by the Caribbean Sea. Looked at from above, Haiti seems a jumbled mass of mountains running in all directions.[11] Down their slopes flow many small streams which after

8. Dr. W. W. Cumberland, cited by Paul H. Douglas, "The American Occupation of Haiti," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLII (1927), 258.

9. The average monthly salary of $13 (until recently only $6) for rural schoolteachers would not draw many wide-awake young men, even if schoolhouses existed for classes. The salary, indeed, is so small that only inferior persons are attracted, often men who know little more than their pupils. See chap. XV, 3.

10. Mrs. Blair Niles, in *Black Haiti* (New York, 1926), pp. 185–186, tells of a prisoner who preferred to remain in jail rather than be freed. "When he gets out," she quotes the officer as saying, "he'll be in again. You'll see. Here he gets nine cents a day for food, an' that's more than the average Haitian ever has."

11. One can well believe the story (told by Ebenezer D. Bassett, *Haiti* [Washington, 1893], p. 3) of the English admiral who, asked by George III for a description of the island, crumpled a sheet of paper, threw it on the table, and said: "Sire, Haiti looks like that." The same tale is told of Puerto Rico, with a Spanish admiral speaking to Queen Isabella.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

trary; they were grudgingly respected as superior beings, arbiters of the fate of the outside world, potential destroyers of the privileges of the Haitian élite should they return to the country in force. Although white men might not legally marry Haitian women, it was not every woman who could resist the opportunity of having children lighter than herself. One indication of the ambiguous attitude toward the whites was seen in religion. In 1842 out of sixty or seventy Roman Catholic priests in the island, only one was a Haitian. Many people in the country were well educated, and certainly more than equals in point of scholarship and *savoir-faire* of the rude priests imported generally from Corsica. But a feeling was current among the peasants that "colored baptism will not stick." There is no indication that the European priests, since they were well paid for their services, attacked this particular heresy. As for the élite, they derived a certain satisfaction in being served by white priests. Aside from the churchmen, however, the only white man in any place of prominence in the country was the mayor of Saint-Marc, whose father had befriended Boyer in former times.

Few visitors had kind words to say of social conditions in the Haiti of Boyer. As a Frenchman put it:

> Democracy was the rule; but what a democracy! A hodge-podge of the most heterogeneous ideas, an alliance of the most contrary principles, of American federalism with military control; the sovereignty of the people replaced by the sovereignty of a ruling clique; and finally, all the intellectual vainglory of a people young, inexperienced, and for a long time denied the legitimate manifestation of their own wishes. Added to all these inconsistencies is the antagonism of races.[61]

This antagonism was, indeed, paramount. The habitual hauteur and assumed pretensions of the lighter Haitians were a perpetual thorn in the flesh of the ambitious blacks, and thus the breach was everywhere widened and made permanent. The blacks retaliated against these distinctions by refusing to obey orders from mulattoes in office, or by petty outrages against private citizens among the colored group.

The vital lack of the country, assuming that stability is desirable, was a middle class of any sort. On the base of hundreds of thousands of peasants, illiterate, unambitious, indifferent to progress, was built

61. Lepelletier de Saint-Remy, "La République d'Haïti; ses dernières révolutions; sa situation actuelle," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XV, No. 4 (Nov., 1843), pp. 681–682.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

believe. It stuck in people's minds. Since Sir Spenser's time tourists to Haiti have habitually spent a few hours ashore, heard drumbeats from the hills, and shuddered deliciously as they conjured up images of weird goings-on—black magic, licentious dances, and frenetic orgies. Novelists during the past half-century have spun their tales full of local color, while "serious" authors have made small fortunes out of pseudo-scientific books with just enough fact mingled with their lush imaginings to give "an air of similitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative." Their language runs into such purple phrases as "blood-maddened, sex-maddened, god-maddened,"[1] to describe the religious exaltation of the people at a Vodun service. Under this constant rain of misrepresentation, Haitians who care for the good opinion of other nations have become extremely sensitive on the subject of the folk religion. Many of them deny its existence; others speak of it as something beneath their attention. The more they try to cover it over, however, with silence and professed contempt, the more mysteriously fascinating it becomes to the foreign visitor. The tourist who goes to Paris expects to see the Eiffel Tower, whatever its aesthetic faults; the tourist in Haiti wishes to see, without quite knowing what he means by the term, "a Voodoo dance." No amount of scientific writing about the real character of Vodun will change the popular misconception. For every reader of accurate ethnographical or anthropological treatises on Vodun[2] there are hundreds who feast morbidly on sensational books.

Haitian Vodun is not the same as the hoodoo of American Negroes.[3] The word is etymologically the same, whether American Voodoo, Haitian Vodun, French Vaudoux, or Spanish judu (whence our "hoodoo"): all derive from a Dahomean (West African) word signifying "god" or "spirit."[4] It is the generic term for all deities.

1. This phrase is taken from W. B. Seabrook, *The Magic Island* (New York, 1929), p. 42, but might easily have come from half a dozen other journalistic descriptions.

2. Particularly recommended are Melville J. Herskovits, *Life in a Haitian Valley* (New York, 1937), and Dr. Jean Price-Mars, *Ainsi parla l'oncle* (Port-au-Prince, 1928).

3. See Herskovits, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 ff.

4. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in a surprisingly superficial and brief article, gives a singular etymology to "Voodoo," tracing it to the Swiss canton of Vaud, where in the Middle Ages a heterodox faith sprang up which had to be practiced in secret. The implication is that any secret religion might be called "Vaud-ois," or "Voodoo." Evidently the author of the encyclopaedia article had made no serious investigation of the subject; most modern dictionaries, on the other hand, indicate the Dahomean etymology.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

of the parish church to which each party belongs, and no ceremony may be performed by a priest without the presentation of the certificate of the civil marriage. 585

According to the legal code, as well as actual practice of the upper classes, woman is man's definite inferior in rights.[7] The Haitian code follows closely that of Napoleon, and both conform in general to practice common among substantial people in the Haiti and France of the early nineteenth century. Spouses equally owe to each other fidelity, succor, and assistance; the husband owes protection to his wife, the wife obedience to her husband. Although the wife must live with her husband wherever he chooses, he conversely must receive her when she comes to live with him, and must provide food for her. No wife may purchase, sell, give, or otherwise alienate property without the consent of her husband; moreover, the husband alone has the administration of goods coming in the dowry, so long as the union endures. 562

The modern movement for women's rights has hardly touched Haiti.[8] Women may not vote, nor may they hold public office. Among the élite, in theory and in practice woman's place is in the home, caring for the household and the children. One might imagine himself in provincial France as he sees the daily life of upper-class Haitian women: the ordering of meals, directing of servants, sewing, shopping, visiting, party going, occasional novel reading, driving in the family car. Different from French practice, however, is the taboo against most manual labor: this is the task of servants only. The élite housewife may cook but not sweep, sew but not launder, bargain with a huckster but not carry home her purchases. A woman of the upper classes would demean herself to enter business. Since the American Occupation, as a matter of fact, a few women have been daring enough to become secretaries and stenographers, but there seems to be nothing like a concerted movement for the "emancipation" of élite women. There are schools for girls, but these do not reach as far as the schools for boys; women are not admitted to the law school or medical school, for a woman lawyer or doctor would be unthinkable in Haitian society. [463] [871] [463]

7. See Louis Borno, *Code civil d'Haïti annoté* (Port-au-Prince, 1892), chap. VI, articles 196–202.

8. See, however, Madeleine G. Sylvain, "The Feminist Movement in Haiti," *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, LXXIII, No. 6 (June, 1939), 315–321. [113]

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

list except in raw form, in which it had an annual sale of only a few thousand pounds. Other subordinate exports were cotton, logwood, lignum vitae, mahogany, tortoise shells, hides, cacao, cassia, wax, ginger, bullocks' horns, and tobacco—and many of these came primarily from the Dominican rather than the Haitian part of the island, during the twenty-two year period of union. The imports were mainly clothing and provisions. That an agricultural country should need to bring in flour, butter, cheese, lard, beef, pork, candles, and especially—in the light of former days—refined sugar, is eloquent testimony to the degree to which food production had declined since colonial times. Other imports were more to be expected, since manufacture had never developed: linen, cotton goods of all kinds, some few woolens, cutlery, iron goods, wines and brandies, oil, lumber, coarse iron goods, earthenware, tin plates, and minor articles.[11]

Gone now were the days of big things in Haiti. Estates of thousands of acres would in Boyer's time have been only a liability. Profits were measured, or rather hoped for, in terms of hundreds rather than thousands of dollars.[12] Saint-Domingue of the 1780's was one of the exciting parts of the world to traders; Haiti of fifty years later was little more than a vague name except to specialists. Any country relying for its economic security upon one crop and its sale in a foreign market must expect vicissitudes in its income. Haiti had these in full measure. And so the prosperity of the country steadily diminished.[13]

11. See the very careful report to Great Britain by her consul, Charles Mackenzie, in 1830: *Notes on Hayti*, II, 175–190.

12. Mackenzie (*Communications Received at the Foreign Office* [of Great Britain] *Relative to Hayti*, Document XI) reports in 1825: "Generally speaking, no sugar is manufactured on the estates devoted to the cultivation of the sugar cane; the juice is either inspissated to a coarse sirup, and sold for common use, or distilled into a very inferior rum, called here 'Tafia.'" Then, citing the case of Tor, an estate formerly owned by Pétion but in 1825 by Boyer, he reports: "Formerly 1,700 carreaux were in cane; 1,500 slaves were employed on it; 3 sugar mills were constantly at work, and excellent clayed sugar was made. Now only about 7 carreaux are in cultivation; 50 laborers are employed; the only produce is a little sirup and tafia, which last is retailed in a small shop by the side of the road, in front of the president's residence."

13. These vicissitudes have been frequently noted. Droughts and hurricanes, pests and earthquakes, were causes of constant apprehension. The chief forces at work to diminish Haitian prosperity were two: the division of land into small parcels at home, and the competition of other countries with Haitian coffee abroad. The price of coffee had declined in all the European markets, making the return to the cultivator exceedingly small.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

[p. 322]

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127 NOTE: When research was first begun upon the economic and social development of Haiti, permission was asked for an examination of Haitian Archives. The reply of the governmental official was cordial and frank. He remarked: "*Nos bouleversements politiques et de nombreux incendies ont occasionné la perte ou la destruction totale d'une partie appréciable des documents haïtiens. Et, il faut l'avouer, avec peine, nous n'avons jamais eu une organisation méthodique pour la conservation des pièces et documents officiels.*" Research in the Archives Générales de la République d'Haïti revealed the truth of the official's statement: there is practically nothing relating to nineteenth-century Haiti. Reliance had, therefore, to be placed upon contemporary accounts, some published, some in manuscript, rather than upon official documents.

Republic of Haiti

113 114 *Le Moniteur* (*journal officiel de la République d'Haïti*). This newspaper, begun on Feb. 8, 1843, is an excellent source of officially approved news and comment. Certain administrations during the course of the century have shown a genius, however, for cautious editing of news.

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F3
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Public Works Administration of Haiti. *Geology of the Republic of Haiti.* Port-au-Prince, 1924.

Annual Report of the Garde d'Haïti.

Report on Irrigation Possibilities in the Republic of Haiti. Port-au-Prince, 1927.

Journals

Le Relève. Port-au-Prince, 1933- . A political and literary monthly edited by men close to the administration, and reporting on contemporary Haitian affairs.

Revue de la Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haïti. Port-au-Prince, 1928- . A small quarterly containing excellent historical monographs.

Gazette Politique et Commerciale d'Haïti. Cap Français (now Cap Haïtien), 1804-6. The only journal published in Haiti during the administration of Dessalines; its last issue, November 6, 1806, reported the assassination of the Emperor.

Almanach royal d'Haïti. Cap-Henry (now Cap-Haïtien), 1817. Apparently published every year in the latter part of the reign of Christophe, only the volume for 1817 is extant.

Manuscripts

Documents on Haiti, in the New York Public Library. A collection of more than a hundred letters, newspapers, reports, programs, and miscellaneous material. Although certain of the documents are utterly unimportant (as, for example, a notice of the obsequies for Pétion), others on the contrary are indispensable as contemporary comment upon the state of affairs in Haiti. The collection was made by John Hearne, who resided in Port-au-Prince from 1815 to 1846.

HAITI (SAINT-DOMINGUE) BEFORE 1804

NOTE: Critical notes are appended to those works whose titles are not properly descriptive, and to those which are particularly important for an understanding of the economic and social development of Haiti.

Adams, Henry. *History of the United States during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson.* New York, 1889. 4 vols. The chapters in Volumes I and II dealing with Toussaint and the relations of his government with France and with the United States are excellent.

Anonymous. *The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies; or, an Enquiry into the Objects and Probable Effects of the French Expedition to the West Indies.* London, 1802. Written by an Englishman as a comment upon the possibility of slave revolt spreading from Saint-Domingue into the British West Indies.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

B3
H4

BAIKET, Sir JAMES. *History of the Island of St. Domingo, from Its First Discovery to the Present Period.* London, 1818. An adequate short summary of the days before independence, but disappointingly concerned with politics and proclamations. From the frequency with which this work is cited by later authors, it merited respect for its accuracy.

BEARD, J. R. *The Life of Toussaint L'Ouverture.* London, 1853. Inferior.

DESCY, DROUIN DE. *De Saint-Domingue, de ses guerres, de ses révolutions, de ses ressources, et des moyens à prendre pour y rétablir la paix et l'industrie.* Paris, 1814.

BONNET, EDMUND. *Souvenirs historiques du Général Bonnet.* Port-au-Prince, no date. An account of certain passages in the life of one of Pétion's generals, active in the war of independence. The book contains occasional illuminating side lights.

BROCA, LOUIS DU. *La Vie de Toussaint Louverture.* Paris, 1802. Written while Toussaint was still alive; therefore incomplete.

BURNEY, JAMES. *History of the Buccaneers of America.* London, 1912 (reprinted from the 1816 ed.). Useful in understanding the part played by the French buccaneers, particularly D'Ogeron, in giving France a claim to the western part of the island of Española.

CABON, Le R. Père ADOLPHE. *Histoire d'Haïti.* Port-au-Prince, no date (1921). 3 vols. A detailed and scholarly survey of the period before the independence of Haiti, by a thorough and interested student.

CARPENTER, CORNER W. *The Bakongo: an Ethnographic Study.* MS., 1934. A massive covering the ethnographical background of the Congo region from which large numbers of the Negro slaves derived. Deposited with the Department of Anthropology at Yale University.

CHARLEVOIX, Le R. Père F. X. DE. *Histoire de l'Ile Espagnole ou de Saint-Domingue.* Amsterdam, 1733. One of the very best surveys of the history of Española.

CLARKSON, THOMAS. *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African.* ("Translated from a Latin dissertation, which was honoured with the first prize in the University of Cambridge, for the year 1785.") 2d ed., revised "and considerably enlarged." London, 1788. Moderately informative about the slave trade to Saint-Domingue.

CLAUSSON, L.-J. *La Révolution de Saint-Domingue.* Paris, 1819. Unimportant.

DALMAS, A. *Histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue.* Paris, 1814. Largely military.

DARD, M. *Observations sur le droit de souveraineté de la France sur Saint-Domingue.* Paris, 1823. Legal and political.

DESCOURTILZ, M. E. *Voyage d'un naturaliste en Haïti, 1799–1803.* Paris, 1935 (reprinted from the 1809 ed.). Full of random observations about social and economic conditions during the time of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

DESBARBES, ADRIEN. *Histoire générale des Antilles.* Paris, 1846. 5 vols. Largely political.

DUCŒUR-JOLY, S. G. *Manuel des habitants de Saint-Domingue.* Paris, 1802. Concerned primarily with the planters of the French colony.

EDWARDS, BRYAN. *An Historical Survey of the Island of Saint Domingo, an Account of the Revolt of Negroes in 1791, and a Detail of the Military Transactions of the British Army in That Island in 1793 and 1794.* London, 1796.

——— *The History Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies.* ("To which is added, an Historical Survey of the French Colony in the Island of St. Domingo.") London, 1798.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

FRANKLIN, JAMES. *The Present State of Hayti (Saint Domingo)*. London, 1828. As the title implies, this work is mostly concerned with the Haiti of Boyer; to p. 189 it is, however, a good brief history of the period before 1804.

GARRAN-COULON, J. PH. *Rapport sur les troubles de Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1792. Worthless.

HASKELL, MARY. *Secret History; or, the Horrors of St. Domingo, in a series of letters, written by a lady at Cape François to Colonel Burr, late Vice-President of the United States, principally during the command of General Rochambeau*. Philadelphia, 1808.

LABAT, Le R. Père. *Nouveau voyage aux îles de l'Amerique*. Paris, 1742. 8 vols. Occasional canny observations about social conditions.

LACROIX, PAMPHILE DE. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1820. 2 vols. One of the most rewarding sources on the revolution.

LAUJON, A. P. M. *Précis historique de la dernière révolution de Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1803. Concentrates on the military situation.

LESPINASSE, BEAUVAIS. *Histoire des affranchis de Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1882. Political and economic history, detailed and straightforward.

MADIOU, THOMAS. *Histoire d'Haïti*. 4 vols. Vols. I-III, Port-au-Prince, 1848; Vol. IV, Port-au-Prince, 1904. (New ed., Port-au-Prince, 1922.) The first detailed and important history of the colonial background and the early days of independence, written by a distinguished Haitian scholar. Only in Volume III is the period of independence reached, and Volume IV is more a set of random notes than a history. Madiou's main interest was political and military manoeuvres; to this end his work is full of detailed accounts of battles and complete reports of speeches and proclamations. It is, however, free in its comments and judgments on events of the revolutionary period. An indispensable source.

MALO, CHARLES. *Histoire de l'Ile de Saint-Domingue, depuis l'époque de sa découverte par Christophe Colomb jusqu'à l'année 1818*. Paris, 1819. Almost a direct translation of Barket, q.v., with nothing of importance added.

MAUREL, BLANCHE. *Cahier des Doléances de la colonie de Saint-Domingue pour les États Généraux de 1789*. Paris, 1933. An important document for one brief phase of colonial participation in the French Revolution.

MILLS, H. E. *The Early Years of the French Revolution in San Domingo*. Poughkeepsie, 1892. A political monograph.

MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY, LOUIS ÉLIE. *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l'Ile Saint-Domingue*. ("*Avec des observations générales sur sa population, sur le caractère et les mœurs de ses divers habitans; sur son climat, sa culture, ses productions, son administration, &c. &c.*") Philadelphia, 1797. 2 vols. A splendid source book by a careful observer. Most of the information available about the plantation economy and the Negro slaves of the French régime is derived from this source. Moreau also published in two volumes (1798) a treatise on the Spanish part of the island.

NEMOURS, C. *Histoire militaire de la guerre de l'indépendance de Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1925.

NEWTON, ARTHUR P. *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688*. London, 1933. A good brief history of colonial penetration.

PETTIGREW, LUCIEN. *L'Esclavage aux Antilles françaises avant 1789*. Paris, 1897. As definitive a work upon this topic as exists.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

● 113
114

SANNON, H. PAULÉUS. *Histoire de Toussaint-Louverture*. Port-au-Prince, 1920. 3 vols. A thorough investigation of the life of The First of the Blacks, by a Haitian scholar. Better on detail than upon the inner quality of the man.

STEWARD, T. G. *The Haitian Revolution, 1791 to 1804*. New York, 1914.

STODDARD, T. LOTHROP. *The French Revolution in San Domingo*. New York, 1914.

TOUSSARD, BOISROND. *Memoires pour servir à l'histoi d'Haïti*. Cap François, 1804. Brief memoirs by one of the leading generals of Lessalines.

VAISSIÈRE, PIERRE DE. *Saint-Domingue (1629–1789). La Société et la vie créole sous l'ancien régime*. Paris, 1909. Excellent.

VASTEY, Baron de. *Essai sur les causes de la révolution et des guerres civiles d'Hayti*. Sans Souci (Kingdom of Hayti), 1819. A historical treatise on the announced subject by the official historian of Christophe's kingdom. Everything is interpreted in terms of the cruelty of the French, and the justice of the Negro cause.

——— *Réflexions politiques sur les noirs et les blancs*. Sans Souci, 1817. Like the preceding work, an official interpretation of the Negro position.

WALLEZ, JEAN. *Précis historique des négotiations entre la France et Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1826. Although largely concerned with the period after 1804, this work provides a background for the negotiations.

WIMPFFEN, Baron de. *A Voyage to Santo Domingo in the Years 1788, 1789, and 1790*. London, 1797. A travelogue with occasional important observations.

HAITI SINCE 1804

ALAUX, GUSTAVE D'. *L'Empereur Soulouque et son empire*. Paris, 1856. Informative.

ARDOUIN, BEAUBRUN. *Études sur l'histoire d'Haïti*. Paris, 1833–60. 5 vols. An extensive work by a moralist. Christophe is condemned in detail, while Pétion and Boyer are generously praised. Ardouin has been called "a naïve but faithful panegyrist" of Boyer. His work is unreliable.

——— *La Géographie de l'Île d'Haïti*. Port-au-Prince, 1832. Containing a historical résumé of Haiti and an examination of her condition in 1832; very moral reflections upon Haitian folkways, and a description of Haitian places. Not very useful.

AUBIN, EUGÈNE. *En Haïti*. Paris, 1910. As good a description of the country and its people in the period before the American Occupation as exists.

BAILLY, M. *Notice sur l'Île de Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1832. A reprint of an address delivered in the Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Besançon, *séance publique de 28 janvier 1832*. General and unimportant.

BAKER, Capt. S. "Climatic Influences in the Caribbean," *Current History*, February, 1930. Highly superficial.

BALCH, EMILY GREENE. *Occupied Haiti*. New York, 1927. One of the best accounts of the Occupation of Haiti by the American Marines, and of the work done during the first eleven years of the Occupation.

BARRETT, EDWARD D. *Haiti*. Bureau of the American Republics, Bulletin 62, revised to September 1, 1893. Washington, 1893. A brief survey of the country's history and geography by a former American Minister to Haiti. It is more in the nature of a guidebook than a source.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

113
114

BELLEGARDE, DANTÈS. *Haiti and Its People.* Washington, 1922. An effort by one of Haiti's most distinguished scholars and officials to make the citizens of the United States understand Haiti.

——— *La République d'Haïti et les États-Unis devant la justice international.* Paris, 1924. A well-reasoned plea against the American Occupation.

——— *L'Occupation américaine d'Haïti.* Port-au-Prince, 1929.

——— *Pour une Haïti heureuse.* Port-au-Prince, 1929. 2 vols. A thoughtful analysis of Haitian problems.

——— *Un Haïtien parle.* Port-au-Prince, 1934.

BIRD, MARK BAKER. *The Black Man; or, Haytian Independence.* New York, 1869. Second-hand history from familiar sources, with religious overtones of a Wesleyan variety. Only occasional illuminating remarks about contemporary conditions.

——— and DEROUX, J. B. *Des Révolutions d'Haïti.* Port-au-Prince, 1867. The only significance of the title is to prove the point that Haiti needs religion.

BONNEAU, ALEXANDER. *Haïti: ses progrès, son avenir.* ("*Avec un précis historique sur ses constitutions, le texte de la constitution actuellement en vigueur, et une bibliographie d'Haïti.*") Paris, 1862. A very fair short analysis of Haiti's progress and difficulties up to the administration of Geffrard.

BROWN, DR. JONATHAN. *The History and Present Condition of St. Domingo.* Philadelphia, 1837. 2 vols. All the first volume, and 140 pages of the second, deal with the period before independence. Good history and dispassionate judgments on Haitian folkways and mores. The last chapter, on Haiti in 1836, is excellent.

BUELL, RAYMOND LESLIE. *The American Occupation of Haiti.* Foreign Policy Association Publication. New York, 1929.

BUTLER, C. S. "The Medical Needs of the Republic of Haiti at the Present Time." *United States Navy Medical Bulletin 24,* No. 2. Washington, 1926.

CABON, Le R. Père ADOLPHE. *Notes sur l'histoire religieuse d'Haïti, de la révolution au concordat (1789–1860).* Port-au-Prince, 1933. A definitive study of this question by a scholarly priest.

CANDLER, JOHN. *Brief Notices of Hayti: with Its Conditions, Resources, and Prospects.* London, 1842. This work, by an open-minded Quaker, is not a history, but rather a most temperate and very generous analysis of Haiti as the author saw it. The occasional religious digressions do not detract from its value as a source of information about the Haiti of Boyer.

CHANCY, H. *Guide des communes.* Port-au-Prince, 1935. Information geographical and administrative.

CHAPMAN, C. E. *Colonial Hispanic America.* New York, 1933. Illuminating comments on Saint-Domingue and the beginning of Haitian independence.

——— "The Development of the Intervention in Haiti." *Hispanic American Historical Review,* VII, 299–319, 1927.

CHARMANT, ALCIDE. *Haïti, vivra-t-elle?* ("*Étude sur le préjugé des races: race noire, race jaune, race blanche, et sur la doctrine de Monroe.*") Le Havre, 1905. A denunciation of the malaises in Haiti.

CHAUVET, HENRI. *A Travers la république d'Haïti.* Paris, 1894. An indifferent travelogue.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

CHENET, EDMOND. *Proverbs créoles.* Port-au-Prince, 1896. A collection of 1,456 proverbs with French translations.

CHRISTIE, EMERSON B. "Haiti's Contribution to Literature." *Pan American Magazine,* XLIV, 216–226, 1931.

CLARK, B. C. *A Plea for Hayti: the Last Sixty Years.* New York, 1853. Containing a historical sketch, but chiefly an apologia for Haiti. Of little value.

COURLANDER, HAROLD. *Haiti Singing.* Chapel Hill, 1939. An excellent collection of 185 songs, with melodies of 126 of them. Five superior chapters on the cultural background of Haiti.

DALENCOUR, Dr. FRANÇOIS. *Aléxandre Pétion.* Port-au-Prince, 1928. A panegyric by a hero-worshiper.

——— *Le Sauvetage national par le retour à la terre.* Port-au-Prince, 1923. Contains an illuminating analysis of the division of the national domain by Pétion and Boyer.

——— *Précis méthodique d'histoire d'Haiti.* Port-au-Prince, 1935. Sketchy as history; abominably printed.

DAVIS, H. P. *Black Democracy; the Story of Haiti.* 3d ed., revised. New York, 1936. Not only a good sketch of the early days of Haiti, but probably the best detailed description of the American Occupation. Highly recommended.

——— "Notes on Haiti and Santo Domingo." *Pan American Magazine,* vol. XXXII, 1919.

DELORME, DÉMESVAR. *La Misère au sein des richesses.* Paris, 1873. One of the first analyses of the problems which were contributing to the slow decline of Haiti in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

DENIS, LORIMER, and DUVALIER, Dr. FRANÇOIS. "La Civilisation haïtienne: notre mentalité est-elle africaine ou gallo-latine?" *Revue de la Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haiti,* VII, No. 23, 1–31, May, 1936. After some rather nebulous talk about psychology, a good discussion of parallels between African and Haitian religious beliefs. The upshot of the article is that the élite should not try to forswear their African heritage.

DEWEY, LORING D. *Correspondence Relative to the Emigration to Hayti of the Free People of Colour.* New York, 1824. Inception of the movement to sponsor the migration of freed American slaves to Haiti.

DORSAINVIL, Dr. J. C. *Manuel d'histoire d'Haiti.* Port-au-Prince, 1934. A textbook for Haitian schools, prepared in collaboration with the Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne. Probably the best short history of Haiti by a Haitian.

——— *Vodou et névrose.* Port-au-Prince, 1931. A decidedly revealing analysis of the mental phenomena which accompany certain aspects of Vodun, with an attempted explanation. Well worth investigation by any student of Vodun.

DORSINVILLE, LUC. *Géographie-Atlas.* Port-au-Prince, 1929. A textbook for the "cours moyen," but giving many useful data about the area and population and resources of the country.

DOUGLAS, PAUL H. "The American Occupation of Haiti." *Political Science Quarterly,* XLII, 228–258, 368–396, 1927.

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK. *Lecture on Haiti.* Chicago, 1893. A thoughtful work of the celebrated American Negro abolitionist.

DURAND, OSWALD. *La Dernière étape.* Port-au-Prince, 1906. One of the "What's-Wrong-with-Haiti?" series.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

113
114

EDOUARD, EMMANUEL. *Essai sur la politique intérieure d'Haïti.* Paris, 1890. Too limited in scope to be useful.

FAINE, JULES. *Philologie créole.* ("*Études historiques et étymologiques sur la langue créole d'Haïti.*") Port-au-Prince, 1937. A scholarly treatise on the Créole language which is fascinating even to the layman. It contains an orderly grammar, a good vocabulary, and many aids to a better understanding of the popular language.

FIRMIN, ANTÉNOR. *Diplomates et diplomatie.* Cap-Haïtien, 1899. Sage observations by a distinguished Haitian.

——— *Haïti au point de vue politique, administratif et économique.* Paris, 1891. A good critique of the period.

——— *M. Roosevelt, président des États-Unis, et la république d'Haïti.* New York, 1905. An acceptance of the assurance of Theodore Roosevelt that no nation capable of governing itself had any need to fear American Occupation.

FLETCHER, HENRY P. "Quo vadis, Haiti?" *Foreign Affairs,* VIII, 533–548, 1930.

FORBES and TUCKERMAN. *Papers Relating to the Colonization Experiment at A'Vache.* New York, 1865. Discussion of another scheme for the settlement of freed American slaves in Haiti.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION. *The Seizure of Haiti by the United States.* New York, 1922.

FORTUNAT, DANTÈS. *Nouvelle géographie de l'île d'Haïti.* Paris, 1888. Useful only for the period.

FRANKLIN, JAMES. *The Present State of Hayti (Saint Domingo).* London, 1828. A good summary of Haitian history to 1826. Decidedly adverse in its criticism of Haiti's development, although not actually prejudiced. The author thinks Christophe's policy of forced labor was wise, and Pétion's *laissez-faire* policy foolish.

FROUDE, JAMES ANTHONY. *The English in the West Indies.* New York, 1888. As dramatic and as inaccurate as most of Froude's historical works.

GASTINE, CIVIQUE DE. *Histoire de la république d'Haïti.* Paris, 1819. Utterly worthless; it is not a history, but rather a plea to the European powers of the time to recognize the independence of Haiti.

GRÉGOIRE, HENRI. *De la liberté de conscience et de culte à Haïti.* (No place of publication mentioned), 1824. This is a bibliographical oddity, for in spite of the title there is no discussion of the subject at all; rather the little book is a pastoral letter by a priest.

HANNA, S. W. *Notes of a Visit to Some Parts of Haiti, January–February, 1835.* London, 1836. A breezy travelogue by a pious clergyman. Useless except as corroboration of outward aspects. Hanna explains Mackenzie's adverse criticisms of Haiti by saying that the British Minister was a mulatto, and so was not well received in Haiti.

HARVEY, W. W. *Sketches of Hayti; from the Expulsion of the French to the Death of Christophe.* London, 1827. In spite of the unassuming title, one of the most rewarding collections of source material in the early period.

HAZARD, SAMUEL. *Santo Domingo, Past and Present; with a Glance at Haiti.* New York, 1873. The glance included little of importance.

HERRING, HUBERT. "Haitian Troubles Continue." *Current History,* XLII, 78–79, 1935. Brief statement of the months following the end of the American Occupation.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

●113
114

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J. *Dahomey, an Ancient West African Kingdom.* New York, 1938. 2 vols. A splendid study of the region from which many of the Haitian slaves derived.

——— *Life in a Haitian Valley.* New York, 1937. One of the few ethnographical studies of a Haitian community, made by an expert. The whole range of life of the people of Mirebalais is studied in detail. The result is a book not only for scholars but for laymen. Indispensable

——— "The Significance of the Study of Acculturation for Anthropology." *American Anthropologist,* n.s. XXXIX, No. 2, 259–264.

HUNT, BENJAMIN S. *Remarks on Hayti as a Place of Settlement for Afric-Americans.* Philadelphia, 1860. Another brochure on the migration of freed American slaves. Hunt's observations are often illuminating.

HURSTON, ZORA NEALE. *Tell My Horse.* Philadelphia, 1938. A gaily written study of certain details of life in Jamaica and Haiti. Much of the detail is hearsay, some is inaccurate, but a great deal is carefully observed.

INGINAC, JOSEPH BALTHASAR. *Culture du caféier et préparation de la fève pour être livrée au commerce.* Port-au-Prince, 1840. One of the pamphlets which Boyer's meticulous secretary of state issued to the illiterate peasants to improve their economic life.

——— *Étrennes à mes concitoyens: Nécessité de l'éducation morale et religieuse en Haïti.* Port-au-Prince, 1841. A paternal homily on morals.

——— *Memoires.* Kingston (Jamaica), 18[illegible]. After the Revolution of 1843 had overthrown Boyer, Inginac went into exile with his President. In Jamaica he wrote his memoirs, which consist partly of autobiography, but mostly of an impassioned defense of every action of his long secretaryship. He never made a mistake; and if Boyer had only followed Inginac's advice, there would have been no revolution.

——— *Message à ses compatriotes, et principalement à ceux qui ont dirigé les affaires populaires de la république depuis le fin de janvier dernier.* Port-au-Prince, 1843. A brief pamphlet by Inginac, urging his innocence of any treason, and pleading with the new government to allow him to return from exile.

INMAN, SAMUEL GUY. *Through Santo Domingo and Haiti.* New York, 1919. With observations on the American Occupation.

JANVIER, LOUIS-JOSEPH. *La République d'Haïti et ses visiteurs.* Paris, 1883. Unimportant.

——— *Les Constitutions d'Haïti, 1801–85.* Paris, 1886. Excellent, not only because it contains a text of the numerous Haitian constitutions, but also for its judicious analysis of the contents of each.

JEAN-LOUIS, H. "La Race créole." *Les Annales diplomatiques et consulaires,* vol. II, No. 1[illegible], Paris, 1904, November 5.

JENKS, L. H. "The Haitian Problem," in A. C. Wilgus, ed., *The Caribbean Area.* Washington, 1934.

JOHNSON, JAMES WELDON. "Self-determining Haiti." *Nation,* August 25, September 25, 1920. The title is satirical, for Haiti in 1920 was occupied by the Americans.

JOHNSTON, Sir HARRY H. *The Negro in the New World.* New York, 1910. Well written but necessarily superficial, considering the magnitude of the topic. Certain wise judgments about Haiti.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

JONES, CHESTER LLOYD. *The Caribbean Since 1900*. New York, 1936. The section on Haiti is adequate as a brief survey.

JUSTIN, JOSEPH. *Étude sur les institutions haïtiennes*. Paris, 1894–95. 2 vols. What was wrong with Haiti under Hyppolite.

——— *Les Réformes nécessaires*. Port-au-Prince, 1915. The sad state of Haitian affairs twenty years later.

JUSTIN, PLACIDE. *Histoire politique et statistique de l'Île d'Hayti, Saint-Domingue*. ("*Écrite sur des documents officiels et du notes communiquées par Sir James Barskett, agent du gouvernement brittanique dans les Antilles.*") Paris, 1826. Actually, up to 1816, a copy of the work by Basket [*q.v.*], whose name Justin misspells; for the succeeding decade, Justin's material is almost wholly political, and not particularly helpful.

KELSEY, CARL. "The American Intervention in Haiti and the Dominican Republic." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. C, March, 1922.

KUSER, JOHN D. *Haiti: Its Dawn of Progress after Years in a Night of Revolution*, Boston, 1921. Useless.

LAUJON, A. DE. *Souvenirs de trente années de voyages à Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1835. 2 vols. Unimportant.

LAVENTURE, LÉONIDAS. *Haïti: le danger de la patrie*. Port-au-Prince, 1893. What is wrong with Haiti.

LÉGER, ABEL NICOLAS. *Histoire diplomatique d'Haïti*. Port-au-Prince, 1930. Good.

LÉGER, JACQUES NICHOLAS. *Haïti: son histoire et ses détracteurs*. (Likewise an edition in English, *Haiti: Her History and Her Detractors*.) Both: New York, 1907. An effort to correct erroneous impressions of Haiti. Léger sees even the defects of Haiti through rose-colored glasses.

——— *La Politique extérieure d'Haïti*. Paris, 1886. Inferior.

LÉGITIME, F. DÉUS. "La République d'Haïti et les races africaines en général." Port-au-Prince, 1912. A lecture given by one of Haiti's Negro ex-presidents at the Universal Congress on Race in 1911; nothing more than a superficial sketch of Haitian history.

LEPELLETIER DE SAINT-REMY, R. "La République d'Haïti: ses dernières révolutions; sa situation actuelle." *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XV, No. 4, November 15, 1845. An excellent analysis of the social, economic, and political conditions which led up to the Revolution of 1843, and the disturbances of the next two years.

——— *Saint-Domingue. Étude et solution nouvelle de la question haïtienne*. Paris, 1846. 2 vols. One of the very best sources for the economic history of Haiti through the administration of Boyer. Intelligently critical; many suggestive points of constructive nature.

LA ROUGE, GABRIEL. *Ou vivre libres et respectés ou mourir lamentablement décimées par la guerre civile*. Port-au-Prince, 1916. Another in the "What's-Wrong-with-Haiti?" series.

LEVACHER, M. G. *Guide médical des Antilles*. Paris, 1847. A fair account, giving the medical knowledge of the period, of health conditions in Haiti and the other Antilles.

LEREBOURS, CAMILLE. "Diseases of the Peasants of Haiti." *American Journal of Public Health*, XXV, No. 8, 924–929, August, 1935. An excellent survey by one of the most brilliant doctors of Haiti.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

113
114

Livre bleu d'Haïti. Port-au-Prince, 1920. A kind of social register, and business roster of Haiti in 1920.

LOBB, JOHN. "Caste and Class in Haiti." *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI, No. 1, 23–34, July, 1940. A good general analysis of the élite-Noir dichotomy in modern Haiti.

LOGAN, RAYFORD W. "Education in Haiti." *Journal of Negro History*, XV, 401–460, 1930. Good.

LOPEZ, G. *Considérations sur la société haïtienne de 18[illegible]4 à 1866*. Port-au-Prince, 1867. Superficial.

MACAULAY, ZACHARY. *Haïti, ou renseignemens authentiques sur l'abolition de l'esclavage et ses résultats à Saint-Domingue et à Guadeloupe. ("Avec des détails sur l'état actuel d'Haïti et des noirs émancipés qui forment sa population.") Traduit de l'Anglais*. Paris, 1835. Very disappointing. Mostly an attack on the authenticity of the report by Mackenzie on affairs in Haiti. The book includes a 139-page letter series from a Jamaican mulatto visitor to Haiti, who fulsomely praised the country, but said nothing of significance.

MACCORKLE, W. A. *The Monroe Doctrine in Its Relation to the Republic of Haiti*. New York, 1915.

MACKENZIE, CHARLES. *Notes on Hayti, Made during a Residence in That Republic*. London, 1830. 2 vols. A careful, detailed, and often adversely critical survey of Haiti by the British Minister during the first years of Boyer's administration.

MAGLOIRE, AUGUSTE. *Étude sur le tempérament haïtien*. Port-au-Prince, 1909. Wryly humorous criticism by a Haitian.

——— *Histoire d'Haïti d'après un plan nouveau basé sur l'observation des faits (1804–1909)*. Port-au-Prince, 1909. 4 vols. Occasionally astute in comment, but adding little to already existing knowledge.

——— *L'Erreur révolutionnaire et notre état social*. Port-au-Prince, 1909. Haiti puts her trust too much in political, and not enough in economic, reform.

MARCELIN, FRÉDÉRIC. *Choses haïtiennes*. Paris, 1896. Unimportant observations on the Haiti of 1895.

——— *L'Haleine du centenaire*. Paris, 1901. After nearly a century of independence, much is wrong with Haiti.

——— *Le Passé*. Paris, 1902. Nostalgic.

——— *Questions haïtiennes*. Paris, 1891.

——— *Une Évolution nécessaire*. Paris, 1898. Some of the reforms needed by Haiti.

MARCELIN, LOUIS-JOSEPH. *Haïti: ses guerres civiles, leurs causes, leurs conséquences présentes, leur conséquence future et finale*. Paris, 1892. An excellent survey of the first nine decades of revolution in Haiti; of no importance when the author looks into the future.

MILLSPAUGH, ARTHUR C. *Haiti under American Control, 1915–30*. Boston, 1931. A careful analysis of the causes of the Occupation and of the results for Haiti.

——— "Our Haitian problem." *Foreign Affairs*, VII, 556–570, 1929.

MONTAGUE, LUDWELL LEE. *Haiti and the United States, 1714–1938*. Durham, 1940. Required reading for an understanding of the course of Haitian-American relations. Although the emphasis is placed upon diplomatic affairs, the author has a rare understanding of the culture of the Haitian people.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

MORPEAU, LOUIS. *Anthologie d'un siècle de poésie haïtienne, 1817–1925*. Paris, 1925. Indispensable for the student of Haitian literature.

——— "Un Dominion intellectuel français." *Revue de l'Amérique latine*, VIII, No. 24, 332–341, October, 1924. A good sketch of Haitian literary history.

NILES, [MRS.] BLAIR. *Black Haiti*. New York, 1926. This, without professing to be a scholarly treatise, gives many excellent descriptions of Haitian life.

OULIÉ, MARTHE. *Les Antilles, filles de France*. Paris, 1935. A travelogue with a moral: the less American influence exerted upon the French-speaking Antilles, the better for them, especially Haiti.

PARET, TIMOTHÉE. *Dans la mêlée*. Paris, 1932.

PARSONS, ELSIE CLEWS. *The Spirit Cult in Hayti*. Paris, 1928. Good.

PARSONS, ROBERT P. *History of Haitian Medicine*. New York, 1930. The only existing book of its sort. Haiti's medical history has not been long or illustrious; Dr. Parsons discusses the diseases of the country.

PAUL, EDMOND. *Les Causes de nos malheurs*. Kingston (Jamaica), 1889. One of the more penetrating criticisms of conditions in Haiti during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

——— *Questions politico-économiques*. Paris, 1861–63. 3 vols.

PAULTRE, ÉMILE. *Essai sur M. Price-Mars*. Port-au-Prince, 1933. A brief biography and appreciation of one of Haiti's leading modern savants.

PIERRE-LOUIS, DAMASE. *Les Mensonges de notre démocratie*. Paris, 1933.

PRESSOIR, CHARLES F. *Au Rythme des coumbites*. Port-au-Prince, 1933. A small collection of poems, mostly about native life.

——— *La Médecine en Haïti*. Port-au-Prince, 1927. Cursory.

——— "Pages de géographie économique." *Revue de la Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haïti*, vol. III, No. 6, April, 1932.

PREVOST, JULIEN (Comte de LIMONADE). *Relation des glorieux évènemens qui ont porté leurs Majestés Royales sur le trône d'Hayti*. Cap-Henry (now Cap-Haïtien), 1811. Chiefly an account of the conflict between Christophe and Pétion, with a fulsome panegyric of the former.

PRICE, HANNIBAL. *De la Réhabilitation de la race Noire par la république d'Haïti*. Port-au-Prince, 1900. Superficial.

——— *The Haytian Question*. New York, 1891. The then Haitian Minister to the United States comments upon the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

PRICE-MARS, DR. [JEAN]. *Ainsi parla l'oncle . . . Essais d'ethnographie*. Port-au-Prince, 1928. An indispensable book on Haitian life and belief by one of the country's leading historians, ethnographers, sociologists. The author not only has the confidence of the people among whom he does research, but also the intellectual equipment to write brilliantly about what he observes.

——— *La Vocation de l'élite*. Port-au-Prince, 1919. Written by one of the intellectual élite, this book is a devastating criticism of the futility on the part of the élite in condemning their African heritage, and of the refusal of the élite to participate constructively in the life of the country.

——— *Une Étape de l'évolution haïtienne*. Port-au-Prince, no date [probably 1930]. A survey of the intellectual and cultural achievements of Haiti.

RADSFORD, MARCUS. *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti*. ("Compre-

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

113
114

bending a view of the principal transactions in the revolution of Saint Domingo; with its ancient and modern state." Generally titled: *History of St. Domingo.*) London, 1805. A contemporary but rather superficial account of the period of Toussaint and Dessalines.

REDPATH, JAMES. *A Guide to Haiti.* Boston, 1861. Interesting and moderately informative, concerning the Haiti of Soulouque and Geffrard.

RENAUD, RAYMOND. *Le Régime foncier en Haïti.* Paris, 1934. The best monograph on the modern property systems in Haiti, based upon careful personal research.

RITTER, KARL. *Naturhistorische Reise nach der West Indischen Insel Hayti.* ("*Auf Kosten S^r. Majestät des Kaisers von Oesterreich.*") Stutgard (Stuttgart), 1836. By the "Gartendirector in Ungarn und Mitglied mehrerer gelehrten Gesellschaften." Ritter's journey was taken in the time of Christophe, ending in 1820. Full of acute observations about the kingdom. An excellent source.

ROSEMOND, JULES. *La Crise morale et civique.* Port-au-Prince, 1915. Merely another of the spate of books analyzing the crisis which led to the American Occupation.

ST. JOHN, Sir SPENSER. *Hayti, or the Black Republic.* 2d ed. London, 1889. (1st ed., London, 1884.) The British Minister to Haiti was an acute observer, with a good literary style; but he had a profound antipathy to the country and its ways. The purpose of his book is to show the general decline of Haiti during the nineteenth century, and to prove the existence of cannibalism as an essential part of "Vaudoux." Biting, sarcastic criticism.

SAINT-RÉMY [des Cayes, Haïti; no given name]. *Pétion et Haïti: essai monographique et historique.* Paris, 1854–57. 5 vols. This mulatto author of Les Cayes is not to be mistaken for the Frenchman, R. Lepelletier de Saint-Remy (*q.v.*). The work is really a history of Haiti, following Madiou (*q.v.*) closely, but decidedly adulatory of Pétion. Many digressions to moralize at length. A sixth volume was planned, to analyze the work of Pétion between 1811 and 1818, but it was not achieved.

SANNON, H. PAULÉUS. *Essai historique sur la révolution de 1843.* Aux Cayes, 1905. One of the better accounts of the events leading up to the revolution which displaced Boyer.

[SAUNDERS, PRINCE.] *By Authority: Haytian Papers.* London, 1816. The high lights of Christophe's reign, told by the King's official toady, and designed to extol Christophe to the British, whom Christophe admired. Of little value.

SCHOELCHER, V. *Colonies étrangères et Haïti: résultats de l'émancipation anglaise.* Paris, 1842. 2 vols. Occasionally informative about the Haiti of Boyer.

SEABROOK, W. B. *The Magic Island.* New York, 1929. An overwrought account of presumably personal experiences. When the author is not intent upon being dramatic, he is an acute observer. Valuable appendices. This book has been the cause of much resentment and of bitter replies by modern Haitians.

SÉJOURNÉ, GEORGES. "Établissement de la propriété et de la famille au lendemain de l'indépendance." *Revue de la Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haïti,* VI, No. 17, 9–22, January, 1935.

SIMPSON, GEORGE E. "The Vodun Service in Northern Haiti." *American Anthropologist,* n.s. XLII, No. 2, 236–254. An ethnographical study.

STREET, CLARENCE. "Haiti: Intervention in Operation," *Foreign Affairs,* VI. 615–632, 1928.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

113
114

SYLVAIN, GEORGES. *Cric? Crac!* ("Fables de La Fontaine racontées par un montagnard haïtien et transcrites en vers créoles.") 2d ed. Port-au-Prince, 1929. A charming collection of fables in Créole.

SYLVAIN, SUZANNE. *Le Créole haïtien: morphologie et syntaxe.* Wetteren (Belgium), 1936. A scholarly treatise on the folk language.

SYLVAIN, SUZANNE COMHAIRE-. *Les Contes haïtiens.* Wetteren (Belgium), 1937. 2 vols. A collection of Créole tales, with critical comments upon their origin and their relation to stories told in other parts of the world by Negroes.

TAFT, EDNA. *A Puritan in Voodoo-Land.* Philadelphia, 1938. A superficial travelogue.

THOBY, ARMAND. *La Question agraire en Haïti.* Port-au-Prince, 1888. One of the best early accounts of the property situation since the time of Pétion.

THOMPSON, WALLACE. "Climatic Influences in the Caribbean." *Current History,* February, 1930. Entirely superficial.

THORPE, GEORGE C. "American Achievements in Santo Domingo, Haiti, and the Virgin Islands." *Journal of International Relations,* XI, 63–86, 1920.

TIPPENHAUER, GENTIL. *Die Insel Haiti.* Leipzig, 1893.

VAVAL, DURACINÉ. "Alexandre Pétion: l'homme et sa vie." *Revue de la Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haïti,* III, No. 7, July, 1932.

——— *Histoire de la littérature haïtienne, ou l'âme noire.* Port-au-Prince, 1933. A compendium of information, with unimportant criticisms.

——— *Histoire financière et économique d'Haïti de l'indépendance à nos jours.* Port-au-Prince, 1934. Useful.

——— "Le Roi d'Haïti Henri Christophe." *Revue de la Société d'Histoire et de Géographie d'Haïti,* II, No. 3, June, 1931. Good analysis of the statecraft of Christophe.

[VIELLOT and LABORDÈRE (1Anon.).] *De la Gérontocratie en Haïti.* Paris, 1860. A sound set of observations about the failure of young men to rise to leadership in mid-century Haiti.

WEATHERFORD, W. D. *The Negro from Africa to America.* New York, 1924. Superficial.

WILGUS, A. CURTIS, ed. *The Caribbean Area.* Washington, 1934. With a fairly good short analysis of the Haitian situation.

WILLIAMS, MARY WILHELMINE. *The People and Politics of Latin America.* Boston, 1930. A good chapter on the history of Haiti.

WIRKUS, FAUSTIN, and DUDLEY, TANEY. *The White King of La Gonâve.* New York, 1931. An American Marine's account of his experiences in charge of the island lying off Port-au-Prince.

NOVELS, AND OTHER WORKS OF THE IMAGINATION

BEDFORD-JONES, H. *Drums of Dumbala.* New York, 1933.

CASSEUS, MAURICE. *Viejo.* Port-au-Prince, 1935. An excellent novel, dealing with a Haitian who tried to find work in Cuba. Illuminating side lights on folkways and mores; many conversations in Créole.

CHAMBERLAIN, GEORGE A. *The Silver Cord.* New York, 1927.

CRAIGE, JOHN H. *Black Bagdad.* New York, 1933.

——— *Cannibal Cousins.* New York, 1934.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

113
114

DAVIS, BEALE. *The Goat without Horns*. New York, 1925. Voodoo.
ENDORE, GUY. *Babouk*. New York, 1935. The scene is in colonial Saint-Domingue.
FERBANK, RONALD. *Prancing Nigger*. New York, 1926.
LOEDERER, RICHARD A. *Voodoo Fire in Haiti*. New York, 1935.
MARTINEAU, HARRIET. *The Hour and the Man*. London, 1841. Toussaint.
PRICHARD, HESKETH. *Where Black Rules White*. Westminster, 1900.
ROSCOE, THEODORE. *Murder on the Way!* New York, 1935.
TAYLOR, J. GIBSON. *Dark Dawn*. New York, 1932.
VANDERCOOK, JOHN W. *Black Majesty*. New York, 1928. A vivid picture of Christophe.
WAUGH, ALEC. *No Quarter*. London, 1933. Tortuga and Saint-Domingue.
WAXMAN, PERCY. *The Black Napoleon*. New York, 1931.
WILLIAMS, JOSEPH J. *Voodoos and Obeahs*. New York, 1932. Professes to be a scholarly treatise.
WILSON, ADELAIDE. *First Woman*. New York, 1933.

NOTE: This list is by no means complete; it merely gives a fair sample of the works of imagination whose scene is laid in Haiti, early or modern.

NOTE: The author regards the following works as the outstanding and indispensable ones for an understanding of Haiti:

L. E. Moreau de Saint-Méry. *Description. . . de . . . Saint-Domingue.*
J. Brown. *The History and Present Condition of St. Domingo.* (1837).
H. P. Davis. *Black Democracy: the Story of Haiti.*
J. C. Dorsainvil. *Manuel d'histoire d'Haïti.*
Melville J. Herskovits. *Life in a Haitian Valley.*
Ludwell L. Montague. *Haiti and the United States, 1714–1938.*
Dr. J. Price-Mars. *Ainsi parla l'oncle.*

See the Bibliography for a detailed description of each.